



TERRORISTS IN UNIFORM

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

”مَنْ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ
عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَضَىٰ نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَنْتَظِرُ
وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا“

January 2025

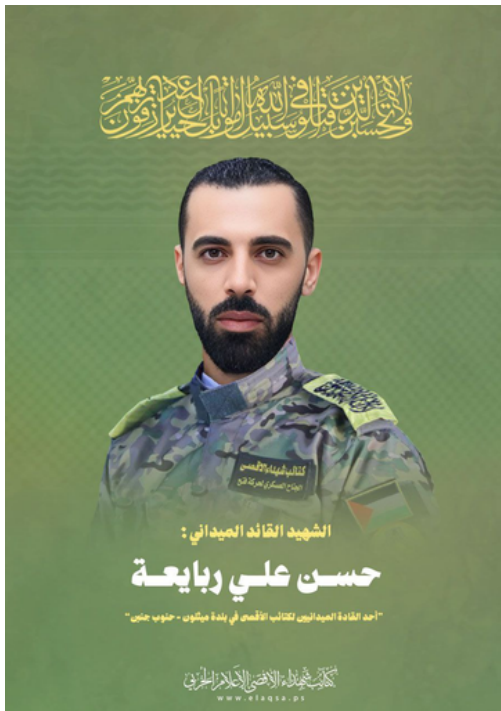
Terrorists in Uniform

A Study of Palestinian Authority Security Forces' involvement in terror

- Mahmoud Abbas' Fatah: "By day [PA] Security Forces, by night self-sacrificing fighters"
- Fatah: "More than 1,500 military operations (i.e., terror attacks) against the Israeli occupation were led by the Fatah Movement members and the Security Forces members [in 2023]"
- PA: "More than roughly 63-65% of the number of Martyrs in the West Bank, in the daily confrontations, are members of the Fatah Movement. And most of them are members of the [PA] Security Forces or their sons"
- Fatah: "More than 355 of our Palestinian people's prisoners inside the prisons are from the Palestinian Security Forces – in other words, the PA's soldiers"

As Israel's war against Hamas in Gaza continues at a slower pace, nations around the world debate who should govern Gaza post-Hamas. The US and European countries propose handing control to the Palestinian Authority under Mahmoud Abbas and Fatah. This report reveals that Fatah and the PA Security Forces are so deeply involved in terror that the idea of empowering them in Gaza should be inconceivable. Clearly, if the force ruling Gaza after the war is involved in rebuilding the terror infrastructures, the entire operation to destroy the terror infrastructure and the loss of life will have been in vain. This report documents the PA Security Forces' active role in terrorism against Israelis, with both the PA and Fatah openly and proudly showcasing their involvement.

On January 5th, 2025, Israeli forces killed Hassan Rabai’ah during an anti-terror raid. Within hours, Fatah’s Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, an internationally designated terror organization, eulogized him as one of their "field commanders" in this post below (left). Significantly, shortly afterward, the Palestinian Authority Security Forces (PASF) also eulogized him (right), noting that he was a First Lieutenant in the Western-funded PASF.



"The field commander Martyr: Hassan Ali Rabai’ah, one of the field commanders of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades..."



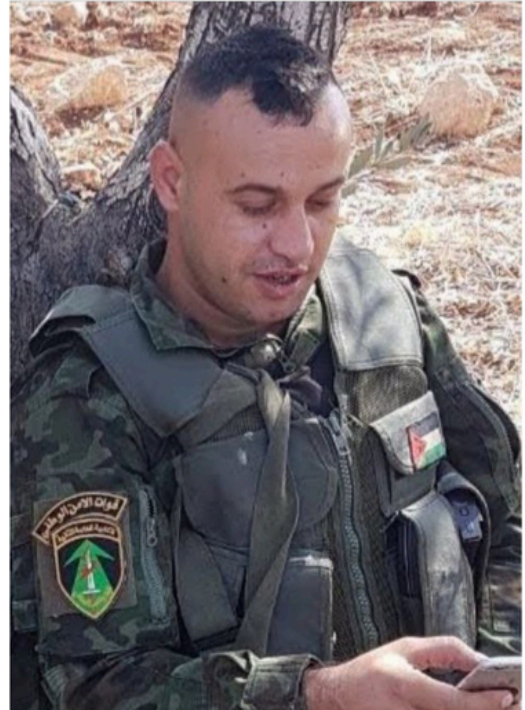
"The self-sacrificing fighter Martyr, First Lieutenant Hassan Ali Rabai’ah, member of the Preventive Security Apparatus."

In its eulogy for terrorist Rabai’ah on the same day, Fatah, the party headed by PA leader Mahmoud Abbas, praised the Palestinian security services, declaring pride in their willingness to “sacrifice the finest of their members as Martyrs to uphold the Palestinian national project.” This statement is both an admission by Fatah of the PA Security Forces involvement in terror as well as shows the heroic status of PA Security Service members who are also terrorists.

On September 19th, 2024, Israeli troops entered the Jenin area to arrest an Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist, Muhammad Zakarneh, who was also a member of the PA Security Forces. In combat, the Israeli troops also fought Shadi Zakarneh, an officer in the PA Security Forces, and member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades.



"The Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Fatah's military wing, eulogize their fighting field commander Martyr: Shadi Sami Zakarneh..."



PA Security Forces officer Shadi Zakarneh with PA Security Forces uniform.



PA Security Forces officer Muhammad Zakarneh wearing Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades apparel.



PA Security Forces officer Muhammad Zakarneh with PA Security Forces uniform.

On July 24, 2024, Israeli forces killed Abd Al-Nasser Sarhan, an Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist. The Brigades eulogized him as "one of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades fighters in Balata and an officer in the Palestinian Security Forces."

At his military funeral (top), Sarhan, a PA customs officer, had an Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades headband placed on his head (bottom), again giving full recognition to the active involvement of PA Security Forces in the designated terror organization.



On Jan. 17, 2024, the internationally designated terror organization, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Fatah's military wing, published this post honoring 5 killed terrorists. One of them is defined as follows:

"Captain Abdallah Abu Shalal, member of the PA General Intelligence,"
"Commander Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades"

*[Fatah-run Awdah TV journalist Anas Hoshia,
Telegram channel, Jan. 17, 2024]*





The Israeli military announced that Abu Shalal was a terror leader:

“The Israeli army announced that... a cell of terrorists was on its way to committing an attack, which was led by Abdallah Abu Shalal, head of the terror infrastructure in the [Balata refugee] camp – who was considered one of the central terror leaders in Judea and Samaria (i.e., the West Bank).”

[Ynet, Israeli news website, Jan. 17, 2024]

Another of the terrorists pictured in the poster above was listed as “Captain Saif Al-Najmi, a member of the Palestinian [PA] National Security Forces.”

Two days earlier, the PA held a military funeral for another PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades terrorist who was killed while resisting arrest, “Martyr Colonel Fares Mahmoud Khalifa.”



Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Jan. 17, 2024



Official PA TV, Topic of the Day, June 14, 2023

This daily involvement of PA Security Forces members in terror has become the norm, as these Western-trained and armed PA soldiers have been leading Palestinian terror.

Both the PA and Fatah have published figures focusing on the central terror role of Fatah and the PA Security Forces. Director of Palestinian Center for Strategic Studies Muhammad Al-Masri publicized statistics showing that Fatah and the PA Security Forces are leading terrorism against Israelis:

“More than roughly 63-65% of the number of Martyrs in the West Bank, in the daily confrontations, are members of the Fatah Movement. And most of them are members of the [PA] Security Forces or their sons...The ones who are being pursued in the streets, arrested, and imprisoned are the Palestinian Security Forces officers.”

[Official PA TV, Topic of the Day, June 14, 2023]

Similar statistics were broadcast by Fatah on its TV channel:

Fatah-run Awdah TV host: “More than two-thirds of the Martyrs in the West Bank over [the last] year and a half belong to the Fatah Movement and the PA... More than 355 of our Palestinian people’s prisoners inside the prisons are from the Palestinian [PA] Security Forces – in other words, the PA’s soldiers.”

[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page, May 27, 2023]



A month later, Fatah added additional statistics about its terror:

Fatah-run Awdah TV host: “If we ask about the armed resistance in the West Bank, the Fatah Movement is the one that is leading it... Martyr Abdallah Abu Al-Tin, [Wadi’] Al-Houh, and [Ibrahim] Al-Nabulsi (i.e., all terrorists who shot at Israelis) are Fatah members. Martyrs Ziyad Al-Zar’ini, Daoud Zubeidi (i.e., terrorists who shot at Israelis)... and dozens of others are the Martyrs of Fatah and the Palestinian [PA] Security Forces... Last night our Security Forces and our victorious Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades fought the occupation (i.e., Israel) in Nablus.”

[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page, June 17, 2023]

Secretary of Fatah’s Nablus branch, Muhammad Hamdan, announced that the PA Security Forces’ central role in terror was common knowledge:

“I think that the entire Palestinian people and the whole world has [recently] seen that more than 1,500 military operations (i.e., terror attacks) against the Israeli occupation were led by the Fatah Movement members and the Security Forces members.”

[Official PA TV, Topic of the Day, March 19, 2023]

Fatah Deputy Chairman Mahmoud Al-Aloul likewise lauded the cooperation between terrorists and the PA Security Forces:

Fatah Deputy Chairman Mahmoud Al-Aloul: “A confrontation took place between Israeli special forces and the Palestinian Security Forces... All the Palestinians are one unit. The Security Forces members, the Tanzim (i.e., Fatah terror faction), the public, and everyone – one unit in dealing with this occupation.”

[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page, Oct. 25, 2022]

The head of the National Association of the Families of the Martyrs of Palestine went even further, pointing out that the PA Security Forces have been fighting and killing Israelis since 1996:

“Secretary-General of the association, Muhammad Sbeihat, said... more than 60% of the Martyrs who have sacrificed their blood since 2000 to this very day are Fatah members, while the Security Forces have sacrificed hundreds of Martyrs from their best members from the 1996 [Western Wall] Tunnel Intifada until now.”

[Wafa, official PA news agency, July 6, 2023]

In August 2023, Fatah published this poster below with the names and pictures of 30 members of the PA Security Forces to honor them as “Martyrs.” The poster, titled “Martyrs of the Palestinian Security Forces,” was published on Fatah’s official Facebook Page. PMW identified 23 of those with ranks in the PA Security Forces as known terrorists, most of whom were killed while attacking Israelis. Some are pictured in uniform. [The other 7 pictured, 1 in the top row and all 6 in the bottom row, were killed in clashes with Islamists in the Ain Al-Hilweh refugee camp in Lebanon (July-Aug. 2023).]



Text under pictures in top row from left to right:

“**Captain Ziyad Al-Zar’ini** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli soldiers), Customs Police
Captain Tayseer Ayaseh (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli soldiers),
Military Intelligence Forces **Captain Bilal Rawajbeh** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli
soldiers),
Preventive Security Forces **Colonel Daoud Zubeidi** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli
soldiers),
Preventive Security Forces **Colonel Daoud Al-Khatib** (i.e., terrorist, died of a heart
attack while serving in prison; PMW was unable to determine the nature of his
crimes),
[PA General] Intelligence Forces **Colonel Ashraf Ibrahim** (i.e., terrorist, shot at
Israeli soldiers),
Military Intelligence Forces **Brig. Gen. Saud Al-Titi** (i.e., terrorist, participated in
violent confrontations),
Military Intelligence Forces **Maj. Gen. Abu Ashraf Al-Armoushi** (i.e., killed by
Islamists in Ain Al-Hilweh refugee camp in Lebanon), National Security [Forces]”

Text under pictures in second row from left to right:

“**Second Lt. Amjad Al-Sukkari** (i.e., terrorist, wounded 3 Israelis, personal security
guard of the PA attorney general),
Police Forces **Second Lt. Ahmed Alawneh** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli soldiers),
Military Intelligence Forces **Second Lt. Ahmed Abed** (i.e., terrorist, murdered 1),
Military Intelligence Forces **Second Lt. Adham Aliwi** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli
soldiers),
Military Intelligence Forces **Captain Ahmed Taha** (i.e., terrorist, attempted to run
over and stab Israelis),
Security [Forces] **Captain Hamdi Abu Dayya** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israelis),
Police Forces **Captain Ramzi Zabarah** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli soldiers), Civil
Defense
Captain Imad Abu Rashid (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli soldiers), Civil Defense”

Text under pictures in third row from left to right:

“**Second Lt. Izz Al-Din Salahat** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli soldiers), Police Forces
Second Lt. Mutaz Al-Sharawneh (i.e., terrorist, participated in violent
confrontations with Israeli soldiers), Training Forces
Second Lt. Raed Al-Naasan (i.e., terrorist, threw firebomb at Israeli soldiers),
Training Forces
Second Lt. Yazan Abu Tabih (i.e., terrorist, killed in exchange of fire between
Palestinian rioters and Israeli soldiers), Training Forces
Second Lt. Muhammad Jawabreh (i.e., terrorist, participated in violent
confrontations against Israeli army),

Police Forces **Second Lt. Tareq Badwan** (i.e., terrorist claimed as a member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, shot by Israeli forces during violent riots in Jenin on Feb. 6, 2020),

Police Forces **Second Lt. Muhammad Abu Bakr** (i.e., terrorist, shot at Israeli soldiers, was the personal guard of Fatah Deputy Chairman Mahmoud Al-Aloul), [Palestinian] Administration and Organization

Second Lt. Muhammad Baradiyah (i.e., terrorist, wounded 3), National Security [Forces]"

Pictures in fourth row:

Everyone listed in this row was apparently killed in clashes with Islamist terrorists at the Ain Al-Hilweh refugee camp in Lebanon in late July-early August 2023. [Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page, Aug. 6, 2023]

24 terrorists pictured in PA military uniforms

Another example of Fatah highlighting the participation of the PA Security Forces in terror was when Fatah publicized a video with the pictures of 24 terrorists who were PA Security Forces officers in their PA military uniforms. To stress that the dual roles do not conflict, each picture includes both the logo of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terror organization and the logo of the PA security branch in which they served. Each terrorist's picture is accompanied by their name, rank, and PA security branch:



21-year-old Palestinian terrorist and PA Security Forces officer who threw a firebomb at Israeli soldiers while participating in a violent confrontation in Al-Mughayyir, near Ramallah, on Nov. 29, 2022. The soldiers returned fire, killing Al-Naasan.



Palestinian terrorist and a member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades who shot and killed Israeli army officer Maj. Bar Falah, deputy commander of the Nahal Brigade, on Sept. 14, 2022. Other soldiers returned fire, killing him. Abed was an officer in the PA Security Forces. Fatah officially took responsibility for the attack in a Facebook post that was subsequently removed.



38-year-old Palestinian terrorist, PA military intelligence officer, and member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades who shot at Israeli soldiers while they were arresting two wanted terrorists in Jenin on May 29, 2023. The soldiers returned fire killing Ibrahim.



PA military intelligence officers Adham Yasser Aliwi and Tayseer Mahmoud Al-Issah opened fire on Israeli undercover forces arresting terrorists. Israeli soldiers returned fire, killing Aliwi and Ayaseh. The Fatah video presents him as a commander in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades.



Palestinian terrorist and PA Preventive Security Forces officer who shot at Israeli soldiers at a military post near Nablus on Nov. 4, 2020, reportedly using a PA Security Forces issued handgun. The soldiers returned fire killing Rawajbeh.



Palestinian terrorist and officer of the PA Security Forces who shot at Israeli soldiers in Jenin on May 13, 2022. Israeli Police officer Noam Raz was killed in the attack. Zubeidi was shot and died of his wounds.



23-year-old terrorist and member of the independent terror cell "the Lion's Den" who resisted arrest and initiated a gun battle with Israeli forces in Nablus on Feb. 22, 2023. In the exchange of fire, he and 11 other Palestinians were killed, most of them members of the terror cell.



Palestinian terrorist killed on Sept. 28, 2022 during a shootout with Israeli forces who were in Jenin to arrest him. Alawneh was a wanted terrorist of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades responsible for a series of shooting attacks and he was a PA Security Forces member.



23-year-old Palestinian terrorist and PA Security Forces officer who intentionally ran over and wounded 3 Israeli soldiers near Beit Ummar, north of Hebron, on March 31, 2023. Israeli soldiers at the scene responded by opening fire, killing Baradiyah.



PA military intelligence officers Adham Yasser Aliwi and Tayseer Mahmoud Al-Issah opened fire on Israeli undercover forces arresting terrorists. Israeli soldiers returned fire, killing Aliwi and Ayaseh. The Fatah video presents him as a commander in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades.



Palestinian terrorist and member of the PA Administration and Organization Forces and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades who was killed during an exchange of gunfire between rioting Palestinians and Israeli soldiers in Jenin on Feb. 6, 2020. The soldiers were there to destroy the home of terrorist Ahmed Al-Qumbu', who participated in the murder of Rabbi Raziel Shevach on Jan. 9, 2018.



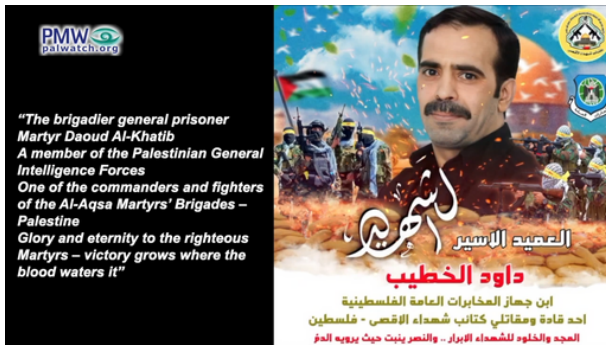
18-year-old Palestinian terrorist who attacked Israeli forces in Jenin on Oct. 8, 2022. Daraghme shot at the forces and the soldiers returned fire and killed him. The Israeli forces were in Jenin arresting Islamic Jihad terrorist Salah Abu Zeneh, 25, and three other wanted terrorists.



Palestinian terrorist, PA police officer, and member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades who shot at Israeli soldiers in the Jenin refugee camp on Jan. 26, 2023. The soldiers returned fire, killing Salahat. The soldiers were in Jenin to arrest a senior Islamic Jihad terrorist and prevent an imminent terror attack. Salahat's father is a colonel in the PA Presidential Guard.



Palestinian terrorist and PA Security Forces member who shot at Israeli soldiers performing security checks on cars on Jan. 17, 2023. The soldiers returned fire, killing Abu Daya. Two days prior on Jan. 15, 2023, Abu Daya had shot at an Israeli civilian bus. He also left a written "message to the Zionist enemy" threatening to "plant disasters in your homes" and inflict "death and humiliation" in "making sure that Allah's word will rule this land."



PA General Intelligence Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who died of a heart attack while serving an 18-year prison sentence. PMW was unable to determine the nature of his crimes.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who shot at Israeli soldiers together with terrorist Ramzi Zabarah at Hawara checkpoint on Oct. 28, 2022. The soldiers returned fire, killing Al-Rashid.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who shot at Israeli soldiers together with terrorist Abd Al-Fattah Kharousha and 4 other terrorists. The soldiers returned fire, killing Al-Zar'ini.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who shot at Israeli soldiers together with terrorist Imad Abu Al-Rashid at Hawara checkpoint on Oct. 28, 2022. The soldiers returned fire, killing Zabarah. In the video Zabarah is shown holding an assault rifle.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was killed while participating in violent confrontations with Israeli forces at the Balata refugee camp on April 11, 2023.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was killed while participating in violent confrontations with Israeli security forces in Dura village on July 2, 2013.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was killed while participating in violent confrontations with Israeli security forces in Al-Arrourh village on Feb. 24, 2023.



34-year-old Palestinian terrorist and the personal security guard of the PA Attorney General. Al-Sukkari injured 3 Israeli soldiers in a shooting attack next to the Jewish town of Beit-El, adjacent to Ramallah, on Jan. 31, 2016. Al-Sukkari was shot and killed by Israeli soldiers.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was accidentally shot by Israeli forces during violent riots in Jenin on Feb. 6, 2020.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was killed while participating in violent confrontations with Israeli forces in Jenin on Dec. 1, 2022.


[Fatah Movement – Nablus Branch, Telegram channel, June 2, 2023]

Fatah: “By day Security Forces, and by night self-sacrificing fighters”

Another video released by Mahmoud Abbas’ Fatah party reiterates that the PA Security Forces fulfill a double role of cops by day and terrorists by night.

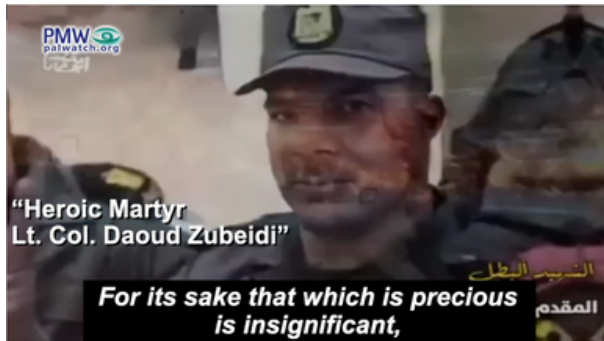
In a video posted on its official Facebook page, Fatah glorified 4 members of the PA Security Forces arrested or killed during gun battles with Israeli forces who were combating terror. In the Facebook post itself, Fatah referred to the Security Forces terrorists who were arrested as “heroic prisoners,” and to the Security Forces terrorists who were killed as “Martyrs,” finishing the post with a symbol of a heart.

In addition to glorifying the arrested and killed terrorists, the video further applauded the fugitive father of terrorist Ra'ad Hazem who murdered 3 in a terror attack in Tel Aviv. The father held the rank of colonel in the PA Security Forces and was suspected of supplying the weapons for the terror attack.

Posted text: “Our heroic prisoners and Martyrs 

Text on screen: “By day [PA] Security Forces, and by night self-sacrificing fighters.”

[Official Fatah Facebook page, May 25, 2022]



In the video, Fatah showed pictures of the terrorists, specifically noting the high officers' ranks they hold in the PA Security Forces:

- **“Heroic prisoner Major Muhammad Al-Tubasi”**

Al-Tubasi is suspected of shooting at Israeli soldiers near Jenin on May 13, 2022, in an attack in which Israeli Police officer Noam Raz was murdered.

- **“Heroic Martyr Lieutenant Colonel Daoud Zubeidi”**

Zubeidi, who participated in the same attack and shot at Israeli soldiers in Jenin on May 13, 2022, died of his wounds two days later.

- **“The school of the Security Forces, Colonel Fathi Hazem ‘Abu Ra’ad”**

Fathi Hazem is the father of terrorist Ra'ad Hazem who murdered 3. Hazem is suspected of providing his son Ra'ad with the weapon used in the attack and is currently a wanted fugitive.

- **“Heroic Martyr Captain Tayseer Ayaseh”**
“Heroic Martyr First Lieutenant Adham Aliwi”

Ayaseh and Aliwi were shot while shooting at Israeli undercover forces on June 21, 2022.

An additional Fatah Facebook post was dedicated solely to the first of the terrorists included in the video - Muhammad Al-Tubasi. The Fatah post glorifies his and his 3 brothers' involvement in terror:

Posted text: “Muhammad Al-Tubasi, a hero of the Fatah Movement and the Palestinian security establishment, is a released prisoner who was imprisoned for 8 years. Two of his brothers are Martyrs, and he has a brother who was sentenced to 800 years (i.e., Said Al-Tubasi, who was responsible for the murder of 31 and the wounding of 93, is serving 31 life sentences). He was arrested this morning.”

[Official Fatah Facebook page, May 24, 2022]



Another dead terrorist “Martyr” of the the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades and “senior officer in the Palestinian general intelligence forces” was honored in a special poster.

The poster shows terrorist Ashraf Ibrahim. On the right are two masked terrorists wearing yellow Fatah headbands. **In the upper left is the logo of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades. Under it is the logo of the PA intelligence forces.**

Posted text: “Martyr Ashraf Al-Sheikh Ibrahim is an officer with the rank of colonel in the intelligence forces. He was shot by the occupation and ascended [to Heaven] during an armed confrontation while he set out against the invasion of Jenin.”

Text on image: “The Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades – Palestine, The Martyr colonel who fell in battle – Ashraf Al-Sheikh Ibrahim

One of the commanders of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades – Jenin

And a senior officer in the Palestinian general intelligence forces

Glory and eternity to the pure Martyrs... Victory will blossom where the blood waters it.”

[Fatah Movement – Bethlehem Branch, Telegram channel, May 29, 2023]



Conclusions

The Palestinian Authority's Security Forces are fundamentally involved in terror. Their terror involvement is not condemned by the PA or Fatah, rather it is glorified. The terror involvement is not presented by the PA and Fatah as unfortunate exceptions but as the heroic norm. Instead of being ostracized, the terrorist PA officers involved are honored and given military funerals.

With Fatah and the PA Security Forces so deeply involved in terror, the suggestion to empower them to rule Gaza after Israel has destroyed the terror infrastructures is inconceivable to Israelis. The military force that rules Gaza after the war cannot be fundamentally involved in terror, or else the entire costly operation to destroy the terror infrastructure will have been in vain.

The political structure and accompanying security force that administers the Gaza Strip must be found outside the current Palestinian political leadership and military. Hamas, the PA, and Fatah are all fundamentally involved in terror, and it must be recognized that they will be the cornerstone that will revive terrorism wherever they are allowed to rule. They are an essential part of the problem. It is a mistake to believe they can be part of the solution.